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ABSTRACT

A study investigated how a television talk show host manipulates the social and psychological distances in the television show context to entertain guests and audience. An ethnographic approach was taken to the research, and analysis focused on the use of politeness strategies and face-saving and face-threatening interactions. The television talk show in question was a Japanese program hosted by a middle-aged male comedian. Data were derived from the text of the first 2 to 3 minutes of the host's interactions with guests and from interviews with the host and his assistant. While a number of discourse strategies were analyzed, use of the Japanese honorific system and of joking are also discussed here. It is concluded that both were used to manipulate social and psychological distance between participants. The honorific system was used to create or preserve distance so as not to threaten the face of the individuals, and joking was used to lessen distance and satisfy the positive face of the individuals. Contains 41 references. (MSE)

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MANAGING DISTANCES: DISCOURSE STRATEGIES OF A TV TALK SHOW HOST

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MANAGING DISTANCES:
DISCOURSE STRATEGIES OF A TV TALK SHOW HOST

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Abstract

This study argues the importance of context interpretation prior to text interpretation and explains some characteristic discourse strategies exercised by a TV talk show host. The main goal is to investigate the inter-relationship between the given context, a particular Japanese TV talk show, and the text, and to see how this is reflected in the linguistic behaviour of the conversationalists who play their expected roles in the given frame. The study focuses on politeness strategies which are used to manipulate the social and psychological distances between interactants. This discussion is based on the idea that individuals behave and are expected to behave in certain ways in every given context (or frame) as they perceive and/or send contextualization cues.

1. Introduction

1.1 Basic concepts in the study

Discourse analysis is a field of study in which the studies of linguistics and communication meet. It is a study of 'language live' (Milroy 1989), which is recognised as 'the key to a better understanding of what language is and how it works' (Firth 1935: 32). It reveals how people perform verbally in personal interactions to achieve their goals; how they negotiate, or entertain, or try to understand each other, etc. Any interactant utilises what every strategy s/he has and gives a performance s/he judges to be most appropriate in a given circumstance.

This study analyses how a television talk show host performs to entertain his guest speakers and his audience. The main discussion is on why and how he manipulates the social and psychological distances in this particular situation. It is argued that all those strategies are used either according to the context or to define or re-define the environment. The ethnographic approach suggests that it is important for a discourse analyst to have enough background knowledge to interpret a text.

The following sections explain the notions of (a) text, context and frame, and (b) face, strategies of politeness, performance and role.

1.1.1 Text, context and frame

The analysis of 'content' - to use the most common term, which is also used, for example, in Malinowski (1923) and Halliday (1989) - or 'frame' - to use the concept initially presented by Bateson (1972) and developed by Goffman (1974) - is considered just as important as the analysis of the linguistic text. It is assumed that an appropriate interpretation of the context in which the interaction to be analysed takes place can predict appropriate and expected behaviour.

An analysis of a text is inseparable from the analysis of the context. Halliday defines text in the light of context as follows: text is 'a product of its environment' that is made of social exchange of meanings and is both a product and process of communication (1989: 10-11). The importance of understanding the context prior to the interpretation of a text is also evident in the works of the sociologist Goffman (e.g. 1959, 1967, 1974, 1981). Goffman, who uses the term 'frame', defines it as the basic elements or principles which constitute definitions of a certain situation and govern

events and our subjective involvement in them (1974). Any communication participant has to ask the question, to make sense out of the situation: "What is it that's going on here?" (Goffman 1974: 8).

What, then, defines a frame? Gumperz (1982) refers to mechanisms such as intonation, speech rhythm, and choice among lexical or syntactic options as 'contextualization cues' and argues that those are what affect the expressive quality of a message. Contextualization cues provide the 'background assumptions about context, interactive goals and interpersonal relations to derive frames in terms of which they can interpret what is going on' (Gumperz 1982: 4).

My own research takes an ethnographic approach to these issues, though full details of research methodology are beyond the scope of this paper[1].

1.1.2 Face, strategies of politeness, performance, role

Analysis of the linguistic text in this study centres upon the use of strategies of politeness, which is governed by the rules of politeness and the principle of the face-work. 'Face' is 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' (Goffman 1967: 5). An individual tries to maintain both his/her face and other interactants' faces, balancing the complementary needs of self and other. S/he tries to avoid face-threatening acts, which is the principle of the face-work (Goffman 1967).

Based on Goffman's theory, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) argue that language use derives from certain assumptions about face, which is apparent in the use of strategies of politeness which are divided into three categories: 'positive politeness (the expression of solidarity), negative politeness (the expression of restraint), and off-record politeness (the avoidance of unequivocal impositions)' and claim that the use of each strategy depends on social determinants (1987: 2). As a principle to govern the choice of strategies, Lakoff (1973) provides a system called 'Rules of Politeness': (1) Don't impose (Distance), (2) Give options (Distance), (3) Be friendly (Camaraderie). What individuals do is to 'juggle the need for, and danger of, being close' (Tannen 1984: 2). This aspect of human nature was observed by Durkheim: 'The human personality is a sacred thing: one dare not violate it nor infringe its bounds, while at the same time the greatest good is in communion with others' (1915: 229).

It is helpful to regard human communication as performance. Goffman defines performance as 'all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants' (1959: 26). Those who contribute the other performances in relation to the original performer are referred to as the 'audience', 'observers', or 'co-participants' (1959: 26-27). These theatrical terms are particularly useful for analysing a public performance, but they can be applied to analyse any human behaviour. Goffman also introduces the notion of 'role' in interactions. The roles played by participants provide a guide for action, assigning 'obligations', that is 'establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him' (Goffman 1967: 48-49).

Individuals can also work as a 'team' to stage a single routine (Goffman 1959: 83-108). The team members share a kind of familiarity and intimacy, which is also reinforced by sharing secrets (ibid.). Possession and non-possession of a particular secret divides interactants into three types: 'those who perform; those who are performed to; and outsiders who neither perform the show nor observe it' (op.cit.: 144). It is the performers who 'are aware of the impression they foster and ordinarily also possess destructive information about the show' and it is the audience who 'know what they have been allowed to perceive, qualified by what they can glean unofficially by close observation ' (ibid.). Outsiders are those who 'know neither the secrets of the performance nor the appearance of reality fostered by it' (ibid.).

Goffman continues that these three crucial roles can be described in relation to the regions to which the various role-players have access: 'performers appear in the front and back regions; the audience appears only in the front region; and the outsiders are excluded from both regions. Often, however, the correlation among functions, information available, and regions of access appears in an incomplete way, and this is when we find "discrepant roles"' (op.cit.: 114-115).

'Front region' and 'back region' constitute another pair of theatre-inspired notions. 'Front region', according to Goffman (1959), is the place where the performance is given in such a way as to maintain certain standards, while 'back region' or 'back stage' is where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course. Front stage is where some accentuated activities are to be found, while back stage is the place where the suppressed facts appear (ibid.). In the front region, there are certain standards - which 'are sometimes referred to as a matter of politeness' - which the performer follows (op.cit.: 110). Both the performers and the audience expect such politeness to be shown.

1.2 The context and the text - why the TV talk show?

To analyse politeness strategies based on face-work and to discuss them in relation to the concept of frame, I chose a Japanese TV talk show, "Gokigenyou" ('How are you?'). There were considerable advantages in choosing a TV programme. First of all, there is no ethical problem in recording the conversation (Goffman 1981). What is televised is already common property. Second, the usual problems caused by observer-participation can be avoided. Third, as a regular watcher of the programme for the past six years, I considered myself qualified as an informed reader of the text. Fourth, it was possible for me to go to the filming studio and experience being part of the audience, which provided further backstage information about the programme and its participants. Fifth, among several talk shows, this one retained the most natural conversations due to the way the shooting was organized, which was televised unedited.

Opening scenes (approximately 2-3 minutes each) from five consecutive shows were transcribed and analysed. The opening scene is considered the tensest phase of the programme, since the initial stage of encounter influences the succeeding relationship development (Berger and Roloff 1982). It is presumed, therefore, that more care will be taken to make use of politeness strategies.

1.3 Reason for choosing the discourse strategies of a TV talk show host

The host of the TV show is a middle-aged male comedian, Kosakai. His use of discourse strategies was analysed as a showcase of discourse strategies oriented towards friendly interaction. The strategies in this special setting should not be different, in principle, from our everyday conversational strategies since what we mostly like to achieve in social interaction is to please and to be pleased.

In this paper, two of his politeness strategies are analysed and discussed: his use of keigo and joking. The former is an example of a negative politeness strategy and the latter is an example of a positive politeness strategy, these being extreme opposites among politeness strategies. As shown later, they create and balance tensions in the interaction.

Focusing on the discourse strategies of one person also provides insight into his role in the particular interaction.

1.4 Levels of communication

Levels and kinds of communication which take place in a TV talk show are quite complicated. Interpersonal communication, small group communication, large group communication and mass communication are simultaneously on-going. This often makes it difficult to define who the addresser is, and who the addressee is. For example, when the host is talking to a guest, he is also taking care of other guests' needs, mediating the on-stage interaction to the audience in the studio, being also aware that the whole interaction will be watched by thousands of people. These communication types are briefly classified in Figure 1.

The studio audience can also be the addresser of the show in the eyes of the TV audience, particularly when they actively show their participation by applause or laughter. The audience is then part of the performing team. As will be described later, the host takes great care not to offend their positive face by often treating them as his group members.

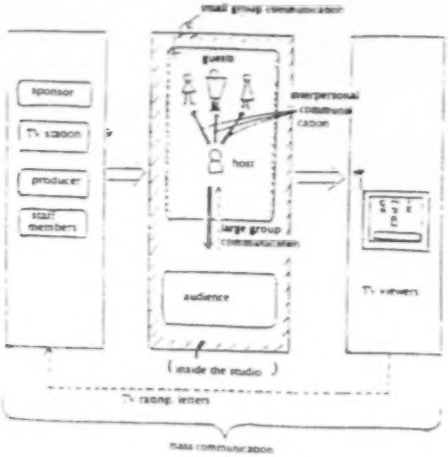

Figure 1. Communication levels involved in the TV talk show

2. Research procedure

The main steps in my research were as follows:

1. Transcribe the recording, and translate it into English.
2. Participate in the studio shooting as a member of the audience.
3. Make a telephone inquiry to the broadcasting company.
4. Hold a telephone interview with Kanbe, the attendant of Kosakai.
5. Interview Kosakai.

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6. Analyse the content.

7. Analyse the text.

Steps 2-5 were very helpful in gaining background knowledge and access to insider secrets. Kosakai, in the two interviews, revealed his introspections upon his own discourse strategies, a small part of which will be presented in this paper.

3. Context analysis

In this section non-linguistic constituents, or contextualization cues, of the context/frame are presented and analysed.

3.1 Brief description and analysis of the TV talk show programme, "Gokigenyou"

The primary target of "Gokigenyou" is housewives (and students), which is apparent from the fact that it is sponsored by a toiletry manufacturing company and is on the air at lunch time, on Monday-Friday, 13:00-13:26. The broadcasting style is as close as possible to that of a live show, for they do not reshoot or clip the tape to edit. This makes it possible for the TV audience to watch spontaneous interactions.

This show itself is a frame. Participants in the interaction here - the host, the guests, the audience, - all agree that it is an entertainment show for fun in which harmony and goodwill are valued and therefore act accordingly.

Five consecutive shows (each one about 25 minutes long, with three intervals) broadcast in 1994 were video-taped. All the five shows were recorded within one day in the previous week.

3.2 Shooting environment and the stage

In the studio there is a low stage whose set illustrates an informal living room. This creates an illusion of back stage region as if those people on the stage were having a cosy gathering in the host's house. The audience of about 120 people are seated about 15-20 metres away from the stage.

This informality of the setting is one of the contextualization cues that signal that the host and the guests are there to have a casual chat, which will include some show business insiders' stories. The stage is assigned discrepant regional roles: it is the front region of the performance, but it is also designed to function as a back region, a 'staff only' area. The studio audience and the TV audience who are the ultimate addressee end of the mass communication, are permitted to observe and overhear the otherwise inaccessible interactions and the secrets of the celebrities. As Kosakai himself put it in my interview, "Gokigenyou" is 'a back stage story-telling, after all'. (And we would agree that people love to know the back stage stories and secrets of celebrities and entertainers!)

The studio audience are not directed when to laugh, though they are instructed how to clap their hands to the opening music in the opening scene.

3.3 Roles of the speakers

In group communication, the notion of 'role' is more significant than in interpersonal communication. It is because a group assigns its members certain roles to play along so that the group can function as an organisation.

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Kosakai, the host, is expected to perform as a host who entertains the guests and the audience, and also as a comedian, a professional entertainer. These factors constitute part of the context, set certain rules of politeness, and influence his linguistic as well as non-linguistic behaviour.

4. Text analysis

My earlier research on this topic[2] investigated the use of "keigo" (honorific system), joking, questioning, repetition, routines, and backstage story telling as the most marked features of the host's discourse strategies. In this paper I would like to discuss the use of keigo and joking as selected examples of politeness strategies.

4.1 Keigo

4.1.1 Function of keigo

Keigo is the honorific system of the Japanese language. There have been many books and articles about variants and appropriate use of keigo[3]. In this paper the function of keigo as a means to express social and psychological relationships between conversational participants (Kikuchi 1994) is investigated as one of the (possibly) universal discourse strategies of politeness.

Keigo is seen as a negative politeness discourse strategy to express restraint. The degree of politeness signals what the speaker perceived from the context/frame as appropriate and/or what kind of relationship s/he desires to create with the addressee. Keigo usage is influenced by social psychological factors such as setting (place, participants) and topics, intimacy, hierarchical relationship, in-group and out-group identity. Speakers can also use types of keigo, or the absence of keigo, to express their attitude toward the addressee, which may be different from the socially appropriate use. Kikuchi (1994) proves this point by presenting a personal experience of a scenario writer who was criticised by her friend for using keigo when she thanked him for his help. She failed to show the intimacy which her friend had expected, when she used keigo, for this signals social and psychological distance.

4.1.2 Examples of keigo use from the transcript[4]

The speech style of Kosakai, the host, contains very polite expressions, which is rather rare for a comedian. When subjects in a survey were shown a part of the original transcription in Japanese, some identified his speech as that of a woman because of the politeness. Others could not tell if it was the speech of a woman or a man[5]. It appears that women tend to use more polite forms of language than do men (e.g. Labov 1966), or at least are expected to do so (e.g. Lakoff 1975, Brown 1993, Romaine 1994). This phenomenon is found in many cultures, including Japanese culture (e.g. Crystal 1987). Extensive use of keigo, which gives a polite and soft-spoken impression, is generally understood as a characteristic of women's speech (e.g. Ide 1982, 1990, Shibamoto 1985, Mizutani and Mizutani 1987). The result of the survey indicates, therefore, an extensive use of negative politeness strategy by Kosakai.

(The following are examples of Kosakai's extensive use of keigo. The line numbers indicated correspond to the line numbers in the transcription of the original material. The addressee is indicated after each utterance in parentheses. See Appendix for transcription conventions. The Japanese transcription is followed by an English translation. Italicised *hon* indicates the use of an honorific form.)

(a) prefixes such as *o-* and *go-* are most commonly used with nouns and verbs to add politeness, showing respect to the addressee.

2-3 -- *o-kyakusama no hou kara go-shoukai* *itashimashou* = (to A)
hon+guests *hon*+introduce *hon*+do+shall
(please let me introduce the guests first)
3-94 *O* azukari shite okimasu. (to G3)
hon+keep
(please allow me to keep it)

(b) *Gozaimasu*, a copula, which is a more polite form than *desu*, a neutrally polite form of *da*, is frequently used.

1-28 = to iu imi ga gozaimashi-te = (unidentified)
the meaning *hon*+be
(there is a meaning as such)
4-8 Futsukame de gozaimasu ga -- (to G5)
second day *hon*+be
(this is the second day, and)

(c) Verbs in humble form mitigating the speaker's status show respect to the addressee.

3-6 -- go shoukai *itashimasu* (to A)
hon+do
(I would like to introduce ...)
1-20 = to itte *orimashita* ga benkyou-busoku de gozaimashita= (to A)
-21 *hon*+be+past ignorance
(I was saying this, but it was my ignorance)
3-122 -- ukagaitai to omoimasu (to G5)
hon+ask/listen to
(I would like to ask/listen to)

(d) Verbs inflections in honorifics that refer to the guests' action show the host's gratitude.

5-10 -- tanoshoku sugoshite-*itadaitai* to omoimasu = (to A)
have a good time-*hon*+have you do hope
(I would be grateful if you could have a good time with me)
5-115 -- kaite-kite-*itadaite* (to G7)
have written-*hon*+have you do
(I am honoured that you have written that for me)

(e) Respectful forms of verbs are used to refer to the guest's action.

3-121 -- to *osshatta* n de (to G5)
hon+said
(because you said)

The role he plays, that of a talk show host, dictates that he should use keigo as a negative politeness strategy in the front region. Brown and Levinson explain that use of honorifics functions to give deference, respecting the 'negative face' of the addressee, that is, 'his want to have freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded' (1987: 129). By using keigo, the host is able to create and/or keep a desirable distance between the addressee and himself.

However, it is not always appropriate to keep using keigo, particularly when the participants all wish to be on friendly terms. The use of keigo may sound stand-offish and can mark "out-group-ness", which can violate the positive face of the addressee, as shown earlier, who expects a more friendly

and familiar social and psychological treatment. This raises the issue of deciding the appropriate degree of politeness expected.

The context analysis showed that this show sets and informal tone, which makes a very high degree of negative politeness undesirable. On the other hand, the opening scene provides a sub-context/frame which requires a high degree of negative politeness by its being the initial stage of the encounter.

Kosakai manages to show positive politeness non-verbally by using contextualization cues of kinetics (facial expressions, gaze, postures) or proxemics (use of interpersonal space) while he maintains a very polite manner of speech. Paralinguistic features such as high-pitch and faster rate of speech and turn taking, which are features of high-involvement style (Tannen 1984: 30-31), are other characteristics of his speech that show intimacy.

Linguistic behaviour to get close to each other is also called for to balance desirable distance. Joking is introduced below as one of such positive politeness strategies.

4.2 Joking

Polite forms of speech such as keigo and joking might be considered opposite poles. Joking is a sign of in-group membership and needs a context that is appropriate for joking. Without the foundation of an established relationship, it can be highly face-threatening (Norrick 1993).

As a professional entertainer/comedian, Kosakai is expected to perform in such a way as to amuse people and make them laugh. The show has to be funny. The guests and the audience expect to be entertained as well as to be treated respectfully. This prevents his jokes from becoming face-threatening or offensive. Moreover, it is possible to signal 'This is a joke' by facial expressions, tone and pitch of voice, and/or eye contact, all of which Kosakai recognised that he did, in the interview.

In the following section a few examples of the joking acts are presented and discussed. (Japanese transcription is omitted here).

4.2.1 Joking and wordplay

(lines 3-63 -- 3-66)
H reads aloud a question G4 had written down.)
H: "What would you do if you grew one centimetre taller every day?"
G3: Oh, that's quite a thing, isn't it =
H: Yeah (to G3), three metres and sixty five centimetres a year (to A)
(A laugh as H tries to measure that height)
On holi-, on holidays, maybe it doesn't work. (to A)
(G3, G4 and A laugh as H goes on reading other questions)
H: "You go into the bathroom, [and
G3: [Well done! (to H, clapping)
(H smiles and nods to G3, and continues reading the question)

The host elicited the first laughter by a non-verbal action, but his utterance that followed the action was more successful. He brought up the notion of holidays and said this strange phenomenon of growing a centimetre a day would not work on holidays, just as we human beings do not work. This is a word play serving as a joke, acclaimed by Guest 3, 'Well done!'

Joking here is more than just making people laugh. It is an act to build solidarity. Kosakai picked up what was originally brought up by Guest 2, making a joke about it, providing an aspect of co-operative activity. Moreover, his joke induced another co-operative act from Guest 3, who enhanced Kosakai's positive face by acknowledging the wit. Here joking is part of team work to support the group identity of the interactionists.

4.2.2 Joking to get a distant figure closer

(lines 5-46 -- 5-48)
(After G5's good physique was talked about)
H: Being aware of that, you might, like, navy blue, no, black underwear = (to G5)
(A laugh)
G5: =Oh=
H: = aren't you wearing something like that.

Guest 5 is a male Olympic gold medalist skier. Upon his entrance, the studio audience cheered more than usual, and the other guests also showed excitement. Guest 5, who does not belong to the show business world, is a star in a different world to be regarded with awe. It may be worth mentioning that Kosakai addressed Guest 5 and Guest 1 (both sport players) in surname+*san* form, a more polite address form than surname+*kun* form which he used to address Guest 3 and Guest 7, both of whom are entertainers younger than himself[6]. These are contextualization cues that signal that Guest 5 is an 'outsider', while Guests 3 and 7 are treated as Kosakai's group members.

Nevertheless, the frame defines the situation to be an informal and intimate gathering. The host is trying to create a more familiar atmosphere by treating Guest 5 without distinction, i.e. as a group member, for which the act of joking was used. Joking is a sign of already established membership, but it can be used to show, when used between not-so-intimate interactionists, the addresser's intention to treat the addressee as a new group member. Just as the environment determines the language, so language, in turn, creates the environment (Halliday and Hasan 1989).

Here the host's mentioning black underwear provoked laughter because people usually consider black underwear very sexy and consider the wearer as self-conscious of his/her sexuality. Guest 5, a young clean-shaven skier, does not look like a person to exhibit his sexual appeal intentionally. This mis-match allowed the participants in the interaction to laugh about it at ease. Kosakai not only lessened the distance between Guest 5 and himself but the distance between Guest 5 and the other guests and the audience.

4.2.3 Joking and in-group secret

(lines 5-3 -- 5-4)
H: Now, everybody, Golden Week started today, right?
(A laugh after a pause)

When this show was broadcast on Day 5, it really was the first day of Golden Week, a succession of Japanese national holidays from the end of April to the beginning of May. Why, then, did the audience perceive it as a joke?

It was on the Wednesday of the previous week that the show was recorded. It was not Golden Week yet. As mentioned earlier, "Gokigenyou" is made to appear like a live show and presented as such. Kosakai told a deliberate 'lie' which he intended the studio audience to notice as his trick. It took a moment for the audience to perceive the situation, but when they understood, they welcomed it as a joke.

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Some people know that "Gokigenyou" is no longer a live show, though others do not. Yet it is supposed to be a back region knowledge, a 'secret' in the making of the show as opposed to the way it is presented and witnessed by its TV viewers, i.e. the front stage of Gokigenyou as a "live" TV programme. The host allowed the studio audience to share the 'secret', which made them feel as if they were part of his team members in the interaction. The audience are now working as accomplices, which amuses them.

5. Conclusion

Discourse strategies, on the whole, are regarded as tools for successful management of appropriate distances. The appropriate distance in a particular circumstance is deduced from the context, or the frame. The context is defined and/or created by a variety of verbal and non-verbal contextualization cues. Knowledge of the context is essential for the researcher to interpret a text as well as for every individual to participate in a conversation in an expected manner.

Two basic discourse strategies, keigo and joking, have been discussed. Both are used to manipulate the social and psychological distances between the participants: keigo to create or preserve distance between participants so as not to threaten the negative face of the individuals, and joking to lessen the distance and satisfy the positive face of the individuals.

The text presented some difficulties due to its nature as a TV talk show. The context requires the text to be highly "performed". The roles of the participants (guests, studio audience) and whether they are in-group members or out-group members are often ambiguous.

Though not mentioned in this research, cultural differences, as well as universal wants, with regard to expected politeness strategies, may be present.

Notes

[1] Some sociologists propose that detailed illustration of context including the personal history of the people concerned are essential in sociological studies (e.g. Mills 1959, Denzin 1989). Geertz, an ethnographer, used the term 'thick description' to refer to a detailed description that contains real voices of the people (1973). They claim that those descriptions are required so that the readers of the text written by the researcher can 'experience' what happened in the event concerned and can reach the most appropriate interpretation.

[2] Unpublished M.A. thesis 1995.

[3] See, for example, Tsujimura 1967, Okuchi 1974, Shibata 1979, Wenger 1982 and Kikuchi 1994.

[4] Transcription conventions are listed in Appendix.

[5] An informal survey was conducted among twelve students at International Christian University, Tokyo. A few pages from the transcript were presented but excluding the first person pronouns and personal names which could indicate the sex of the participants. Five people identified Kosakai as a woman, two identified him as a man, and five were unable to identify the sex. Those who identified Kosakai's speech as a woman's gave his extensive use of very polite sentence ending forms such as '--gozaimasu' and '--itadakimashita' as the reason for the identification. Five students who answered that it was not identifiable said that such very polite language owes much to the role of the speaker, rather than the sex. The two who identified Kosakai as a male speaker knew who the speaker was.

[6] One classic example in which the use of address forms is discussed is Brown and Gilman (1960). It is demonstrated and claimed that the choice of pronoun derives from 'two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of all social life - the dimensions of power and solidarity'.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions

Speakers

Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[
	[
Continuous utterances	=

(when there is no interval adjacent utterances or there is a continuous flow of the same speech carried over to another line)

Transcription continuity

Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal	?

Accent

Booster	!
Lengthening	.../----

The above conventions are adapted from Schiffrin (1994).

Other symbols for communication participants are:

H	Host
G1	Guest 1
G2	Guest 2
G3	Guest 3
^	
^	
^	
A	Audience in the studio

First digit in a line number indicates the day of the broadcast:

e.g. 1-28 ..... Day 1 (Monday)
2-3 ..... Day 2 (Tuesday)
3-94 ..... Day 3 (Wednesday)
4-8 ..... Day 4 (Thursday)
5-10 ..... Day 5 (Friday)